

blame for failure was laid at the door of the indolent and thriftless. The speech, polished in language, graceful in delivery and enlivened by flashes of humor, was well calculated (and evidently intended) to quiet the fears of the young republicans who are growing restive and beginning to resent corporate domination in their party councils.

To show the possibilities that open before the young man he cited the cases of Charles Hayes and William Van Horne, young men who grew up on farms near where he (Senator Dolliver) once lived. Hayes is now president of the Southern Pacific and Mr. (now Sir William) Van Horne is president of the Canadian Pacific. Admitting, however, that but few can be railroad presidents, especially if consolidations continue, he sought to illustrate his argument by taking a case which he thought would appeal to the masses and describe a success within the reach of all.

He told of a young man, a model man in habits, who came from Canada and went to work on a farm in his (Senator Dolliver's) home county at \$200 per year. Being methodical he kept an itemized account of his expenditures and the senator, after a careful inspection of the ledger, found that in five years he had given about \$60 to the church, spent about \$150 on himself, sent his mother about the same sum and used a little larger sum in traveling, and, most important of all, had saved and loaned out \$400. This was the net result of five years of industry and it was proclaimed as the solution of the economic problem. Insofar as the illustration tends to show the advantage of good habits, persevering toil and economy, it is good. Under any conditions, how-

ever adverse, some will do better than others and under any conditions, however favorable, some will lag behind. The weakness of Senator Dolliver's illustration is that it has nothing to do with the present situation. The question is not whether it is possible to live under present conditions, but whether the rewards offered by society and government are proportionate to the service rendered by each. In the case cited by Senator Dolliver the young man by care and sacrifice saved \$400; if he had commenced at twenty and continued his labors for fifty years he would at seventy have had \$4,000 and accumulated interest—probably something more than the senator's salary for one year. But it must be remembered that the young man mentioned was unmarried; if he had taken unto himself a wife and assumed the responsibility of rearing and educating a family his domestic expenses would have made inroads upon his savings. Not twenty-five per cent of the heads of families have \$4,000 at death. But while the senator's exemplary friend must labor for five years to save \$400 the beneficiaries of republican legislation grow rich not only by leaps and bounds, but by enforced contributions from the producers of wealth.

The Rock Island railroad marked up its capital recently from \$75,000,000 to more than \$200,000,000, and expects to make a confiding public pay rates that will yield a dividend on that sum. It would take over 300,000 farm hands, like Senator Dolliver's friend, four years to save the amount added to the capital of one road by the directors in a single day.

The Standard Oil company's stock increased \$200,000,000 in value in one year as a result of the last republican victory. It would take 500,000 farm

hands, like Senator Dolliver's friend, two years to earn that sum and five years to save that amount.

The Kansas City Journal in a lucid interval gave statistics to show that the beef trust taxes the people of the United States more than \$200,000,000 per year. Here is another interesting example in arithmetic.

A comparison of the slow accumulations of the unprotected masses with the enormous fortunes secured by a few under republican favoritism is not likely to stir up wild enthusiasm among the rank and file of the republican party. If we are to have trusts and monopolies why not emphasize the Saratoga incident? Mr. Gates, who made nine millions in one week recently, and then went up to play the races, gave a waiter \$500 as a tip. This was as much as Senator Dolliver's friend made in two years and more than he saved in four years. Why refer to the patient plodding necessary to save eighty dollars a year when by waiting on a trust magnate there is a chance to run across half a thousand in a day?

The fact is that republican policies are working a transformation that is destructive of high ideals. The speculator, the plunger, the stock gambler and the monopolist are running the republican party and, through it, the country, while the producers of wealth find themselves possessors of an ever decreasing proportion of the wealth which they produce.

Organized greed is spreading a feast to Dives and it is expected that the public will be satisfied with the crumbs that fall from the table, but it will require more than rhetorical chloroform to make the people unconscious of the burglarious work that is going on.

CUMMINS REPLIES TO SHAW

"The truth is that those who are enjoying monopolies are every day laughing at the inertness of the people and wondering how long the reign of inactivity will continue." ❖ ❖ ❖ ❖ ❖ ❖ ❖

It was Governor Cummins of Iowa who led the fight for the tariff revision plank in the Iowa republican convention against the united protest of republican senators and representatives in congress from that state.

On August 19, Governor Cummins gave an interview to the Minneapolis Journal in reply to the statements credited by Walter Wellman of the Chicago Record-Herald to a member of Mr. Roosevelt's cabinet. It will be remembered that subsequently Mr. Wellman revealed that this cabinet officer was none other than Secretary of the Treasury Shaw.

Replying to Secretary Shaw's intimation that tariff revision would be impossible because of the presence in the senate of the Aldrich element, Governor Cummins said:

"Recurring to the remarkable prediction of the 'cabinet officer' as to the impossibility of inducing congress to make any changes whatsoever in the tariff schedules, I am constrained to believe that he has mistaken his viewpoint. He seems to look upon congress as the master of the American people, whereas, I have been accustomed to consider congress as the representative or servant of the American people.

"The voters of the United States advise themselves and draw their own conclusions, and my observation is that, when they make known their wishes to those whom they have selected to represent them in congress, difficulties disappear and action begins.

"What I have said of members of congress is just as true and pertinent of every department of the government, and you can depend on it, if the people want a duty taken off, and say so, it will be taken off."

While insisting that the Iowa republicans have not abandoned the principle of protection, Governor Cummins declares:

"If we find a monopoly established by a combination of manufacturers or producers in any commodity, so that every man who buys that article must buy of a single company and pay the price that the avarice and selfishness

of the trust or combination may fix, then the tariff shall not be permitted to aid the trust or combination in maintaining the monopoly.

"To put it differently, we are willing to pay for whatever we buy the American standard of prices, but they must be prices fixed by American competition and not American prices fixed solely by the greed of a single manufacturer; and if the capacity of the 'captains of industry' to organize is sufficient to stifle American competition, then we will at least take the chance of finding it elsewhere.

"These declarations seem to me to be fundamental."

Referring to Secretary Shaw's objection to any agitation of this question, Governor Cummins intimates that the way to avoid agitation is for the administration to adopt the Iowa plan of preventing the tariff from becoming a shelter for monopolies. Concerning the panic bugaboo that Secretary Shaw holds up to public gaze, Governor Cummins says:

"It is the extreme of folly to assert that this will seriously disturb the industrial fabric or frighten the producers of the country. The truth is that those who are enjoying monopolies are every day laughing at the inertness of the people and wondering how long the reign of inactivity will continue.

"I am not unmindful of the obvious danger of a financial shock, but the menace is overcapitalization and not tariff changes. We cannot always maintain the vast volume of worthless bonds and stocks which seem to have no limit save the capacity of the printing press; but the remedy is to prohibit the issue of the stocks and bonds. We cannot avert this disaster by falling on our knees and worshipping a tariff schedule."

It will be remembered that even Secretary Shaw admitted that the people were confronted with overcapitalization to an alarming extent. He admitted that these concerns were established partly on wind and partly on the people's money. He admitted that they were largely water-cured, but he differed from Governor Cummins. Secretary Shaw intimated that it is the people's duty to

maintain the vast volume of "worthless bonds and stocks which seem to have no limit save the capacity of the printing press." Differing from Governor Cummins, Secretary Shaw believes that we can avert disaster by falling on our knees and worshipping the tariff schedule, or, in other words, by permitting in addition to the already large number of water-cured concerns the creation of probably an equally large number of overcapitalized institutions.

One statement made by Governor Cummins deserves to be impressed upon the attention of every voter. Governor Cummins said:

"THE TRUTH IS THAT THOSE WHO ARE ENJOYING MONOPOLIES ARE EVERY DAY LAUGHING AT THE INERTNESS OF THE PEOPLE AND WONDERING HOW LONG THE REIGN OF INACTIVITY WILL CONTINUE."

The wonder is that the people who are required by the trust system to burn the candle at both ends, by providing not only the legislation, but the money necessary to create these concerns, submit patiently to the impositions.

President Baer of the Philadelphia & Reading railroad, is applying to domestic industry the same theory that the president applies to the Philippine question. Our strenuous executive thinks that our nation has been providentially entrusted with the care, discipline and exploitation of the Filipinos and Mr. Baer thinks that "the rights and interests of the laboring man will be protected and cared for, not by the labor agitators, but by the Christian men to whom God in his infinite wisdom has given control of the property interests of the country." This complacent philosophy seems to pervade all republican policies. A carpet-bag government will look after helpless subjects in the Orient; the trust magnates will look after the small industries which are being forced to the wall; the financiers will look after the wealth-producers; the railroads will look after railroad rates and the manufacturers will attend to the tariff laws—this is the plan, and according to the self-appointed guardians it is a Divine plan, but what do the wards think about it?